/14 cont./

361 the intelligence of the forest dweller the advantage of the safety of his property, which thus more easily escapes being seen and covetousness. The natural consequence is that the density of the population in each group is independent of the fertility of the adjacent lands.

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## Chapter II

### The Tribes of the Uaupés in the Historical Period

#### 1 -- Data on the History of the Rio Negro and the Uaupés River

174 The important problem of the origin of the forest dwellers of Brazil, as of America, still awaits solution. Since anthropo-ethnological science does not recognize them as autochthons, where did they come from? From only one or from various origins? In what era? By which path? With what means? In one or several successive migrations? Under what direction? How did they spread?

[121] The present work does not aim at answering these or other connected questions. Nevertheless a rapid survey of this cultural group of the Uaupés within the historical period for it, that is, since the discovery of Brazil, is advisable.

• 175 The voyage of discovery of the "Rio das Amazonas," as it became known at the time, was made by Francisco Orellana in 1541, the friar of the Order of Saint Dominic, Gaspar de Carvajal, serving as chronicler. From his account there appears with respect to the Rio Negro only that on Saturday, the eve of the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 3, 1542, "We saw the mouth of another large river, on the left bank, which entered the one that we were navigating and of water black as ink and therefore we gave it the name of Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas /Discoveries of the Amazon River/," 50).

/15 cont./

175 In the brief "Relação do descobrimento do Rio Amazonas, hoje S. Francisco de Quito /Account of the discovery of the Amazon River, today S. Francisco de Quito/," by Padre Alonso de Rojas, one only reads, in § 6: "At the north side there is a very large river with a league and a half at the mouth and waters so black that they are distinguished from the others, an effect that gave the name to the river, it being called 'Negro.'"

"The first steersman, of whom we shall speak later, having navigated two or three days along this Rio Negro, said that, according to the information that he could obtain from some Indians, this river rises in some mountain ranges neighboring the Novo Reino de Granada and in its origin it is divided into two branches: one of them, with the name of Rio Negro, empties, after a long course, into the Amazon; the other comes to empty into the sea of the North, in view of the island Trindade, and they think that this river might be the famous Orinoco" ("Descobrimentos," 95).

[103] /16/ Padre Cristobal de Acuña, who accompanied Pedro de Teixeira on his return from Quito to Belém, gives in his "Novo descobrimento do grande Rio das Amazonas /New discovery of the great Amazon River/" more abundant information concerning the Rio Negro, or Curiguacurú, as "the natives who inhabit it" called it, or Uruna, "which means black water," by the "Tupinambás" in their language. "Caniçuaris, Aguayras, Yacuncarais, Cahuayapitis, Manacarús, Yanmas, Guanamás, Carapanaris, Guarianacaguas, Acerabarís, Carupatabas and Guaranaquazama /the quotation marks that perhaps belong here are missing in the original source/ are the nations "who live along the waters of the Rio Negro" ("Descobrimentos," 251).

175 After the travels of Pedro de Teixeira, the scouting for the
648 capture of the Indian started. These enslaving bands were called "tropas de resgate" /ransom troops/. One of the first ones was that headed by Pedro da Costa Favela, of ominous memory (1).

1. "The history of the province abounds in facts of the harshest cruelty. On the river Urubú, to cite one of them, in 1665, an expedition commanded by

/16 cont./

• 175 648

/footnote 1 cont./ Pedro da Costa Favella completely annihilated a tribe, killing 700 persons, imprisoning 400, and burning 300 villages." Baena -- Compêndio das eras da Província do Pará, 1838 /Compendium of the eras of the Province of Pará, 1838/ -- ap. José Veríssimo, o. c., 304.

The Jesuit Padre Manuel Pires (according to Padre Serafim Leite, in his História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil /History of the Company of Jesus in Brazil/) traveled on the Rio Negro four times, accompanying "tropas de resgate." They were swift penetrations, however, without the goal of colonization.

In 1668 Pedro da Costa Favella returned, accompanied by the Mercedarian Frei /Brother/ Teodósio da Veiga, and, in the place called Aruim, founded a povoado /populated place/ of Tarumã Indians, which was later transferred to the mouth of the river Jaú, with "Manao, Aruaqui and Tacú" Indians, under the name of Santo Elias do Jaú, and now called Airão.

In 1669 Francisco da Mota Falcão laid the foundations of a fort two leagues above the mouth of the Rio Negro, where there would be formed, little by little, the "Lugar /place, village, town/ da Barra," or the "Povoado de S. José da Barra," today the modern and picturesque city of Manaus.

175 797

By royal letter of 1694 the catechizing of the Rio Negro was entrusted to the Carmelite Religious. Through their work eight aldeaments emerged: S. Elias do Jaú, S. Alberto de Aracary, S. Angelo do Cumarú, N. Senhora da Conceição de Maruiá, S. Rita de Cassia de Itarendaua, N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo de Cabuquena, N. Senhora do Rosário de Bararoá (later called Thomar), and N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo do rio Dari, and later the missions of the Uaupés, in S. Joaquim da Foz and S. Jerônimo da Cachoeira or Ipanoré.

175 648

Then the government of the metropolis, struck by fear of the Dutch and Spanish incursions, and eager to obtain the "drogas" /literally "drugs," here natural products/, proposed the systematic founding of settlements along the whole Rio Negro.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19 ]

/17/

175 648 The scouting, official or not, in search of the "drogas" (the natural products) and the "peças" /pieces/ (the Indians for public service or even as slaves) was going on. Soon the Rio Negro and its principal tributaries were quite well known by the Portuguese, even the connections with the Orinoco by way of the Cassiquiare and with the Guianas by way of the Rio Branco.

175 648 797 By royal letter of March 3, 1755, the "Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro" was created. In that very year, by decision of the Marquês /Marquis/ de Pombal, by decree of June 7, the Religious Missionaries were excluded from the secular direction of the native povoados (the direction being transferred to the judges and aldermen) and, in the spiritual one, were subject to the Bishops (no longer to their Religious Superiors). In April of that year Padre Joseph Monteiro de Noronha was chosen as Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Pará, who at that time was D. Frei Miguel de Bulhões, of the order of S. Bento.

On July 16, 1757, the first Governador, Joaquim de Melo Póvoas, was appointed, and in 1758 several aldeias were elevated to Vila /town/ or Lugares: that of Maruiá to Vila de Barcelos, as Capital; Itarendaua to Vila de Moura; Bararoá to Vila de Thomar; Jaú to Lugar de Ayrão; Cumarú to Lugar de Poiares; Aracarí to Lugar de Carvoeiro.

175 648 The territorial preoccupations of the metropolis dictated orders for the garrisoning of the upper Rio Negro against the Spanish expansionist tendencies. Capitão José da Silva Delgado was appointed for this in 1761, and he founded the localities of S. Pedro de Simapé, S. José dos Marabitanas, N. Senhora da Guia, S. Bárbara, S. João Batista do Mabé, S. Isabel, Senhor da Pedra, N. Senhora de Nazaré da Curiana, S. Gabriel da Cachoeira, S. Sebastião, and S. Antonio do Castanheiro Velho. This last one was later abandoned due to the impossibility of agriculture, always damaged by the leaf-cutting ant, and the population was transferred above the mouth of the Abunã, founding the povoado of S. Antonio do Castanheiro Novo. The Franciscan Frei José de S. Úrsula was appointed as the first vicar of S. Gabriel.

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• 175 648 In 1772 the povoado of N. Senhora de Loreto de Maçaraby was founded, and in 1781 that of N. Senhora das Caldas on the bank of the Cauaburí River.

By order of General João Pereira Caldas, commissioned by Portugal for the demarcation of the boundaries (with D. Francisco de Requena representing the interests of Spain), Coronel Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada went up the Rio Negro in 1784, founded the town of S. Marcelino at the mouth of the Xié, and traveled on the waters of the Uaupés.

[797] Nevertheless, with the Missionaries reduced in number and powers, the unfitness of the "Diretores dos Índios" /Directors of the Indians/ was prejudicial to their /18/ Christianization and settlement in povoados. The "Diários" /Diaries/ of Sampaio and Ferreira document that and protest against it (2).

2. Alexandre R. Ferreira in the Participação segunda /second Communication/, dated January 30, 1786, affirmed: -- "I say what I have always said, that the Indians, after being freed, will remain in this respect in a worse condition than the one they had when slaves. The master in the life of the slave carefully looked after his money; the Director in the life of the Indian does not look after any interest." And he notes that the Indians died from much work and little food. "They give them only beijú or ticoara and caribé /dishes made with manioc/" (o.c., 87).

On p. 43 he talks about the bad treatment that the Directors inflicted on the Indians, while they enriched themselves and became so many petty noblemen: -- "From one pair of absolute hands to another, and so absolute that in the vilas and lugares, or rather, free dukedoms, marquisates, and earldoms of the Directors, the Indians suffer, tied to the tenacious pillar of their suffering."

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/Footnote 2 cont./ On p. 70 he reports of Coronel Teodósio Constantino Chermont, upon inviting the Mucunas Indians to settle in Tabocas, Apapóris River, that he heard from their principal /chief/, Maimanaca, that they would do it, "Provided, however, that he would have sent to them a vicar to baptize and indoctrinate them, as they greatly wished, and had requested in vain not a few times; but by no means the Director, because they were very well informed about the conduct of all of them with regard to the Indians in our towns, managing only to destroy them and not to edify them."

The Presidente of the Província, Conselheiro /Counselor/ Herculano Ferreira Pena, in the "Falla dirigida à Assembleia Legislativa Provincial do Amazonas /Speech directed to the Provincial Legislative Assembly of Amazonas/," on October 1, 1853, after recognizing that the noble plans of catechizing and educating the Indians had failed, affirmed: -- "For a /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ very simple and generally well-known reason, that is, because of the lack of faithful executors when the old Missionaries have disappeared, the ones who put their hearts into this enterprise, worthy certainly of Vieira, Nobregas, and Anchieta.

"By eliminating the Jesuits, the Portuguese government did not foresee that it was thus also ordering the destruction of the Indians, who, during the period of two centuries, had lived happily and contentedly under the paternal tutelage of those Religious; on the contrary, the famous Ministro del Rei D. José understood that this tutelage could advantageously be replaced by the command of the Directors then created; but the new system unfortunately did not have any effects other than the decline of the aldeias already formed, and

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/footnote 2 cont./ the impossibility of founding others that would resemble them, as is observed throughout Brazil.

"What the facts attest to is that if any good result was achieved, it was due to the zeal and the charity of the Missionaries.

"Therefore, to hand over the direction of the aldeias to religious who will be able to renounce completely the goods and the pleasures of the world, who will have the patience needed to forgive the Indians the mistakes and the faults stemming from the incontestable inferiority of their intelligence, who will inspire in them a love of work, who will instruct them in the principles of the Catholic religion and of the Christian doctrine, who, in sum, will educate them to the point of finding themselves able to fulfill the duties and to enjoy the advantages of civil society, is, in my view, the only system that we can follow with every probability of happy success." ("Relatorios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas," Vol. 1, pp. 218-9.)

[797] In spite of the lack of Missionaries, the process of Christianization was being accomplished, although more slowly, since Indians from the Uaupés went down to S. Gabriel or its environs when they heard of the presence of some priest there.

With the independence of Brazil proclaimed in 1822, complete autonomy was not granted to the province of S. José do Rio Negro, as it was to the others, and, as "Comarca do Alto Amazonas," it came to be integrated, up to 1850, with the Province of Pará.

4: Silva--23 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/18 cont./

175 648 797 With the apostolic works of the Carmelite Frei José dos Santos Inocentes on the upper Rio Negro and tributaries for more than 20 years, counting from 1832, the evangelization of the natives acquired new vigor.

The Province of Amazonas having been created on September 5, 1850, its first Governador, João Batista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, in the same year that he came into office, 1852, appointed the Capuchin Frei Gregorio José Maria de Bene "Vigário encomendado das freguezias e povoações do alto Rio Negro e Missionário dos rios Uaupés e Içana" /Removable vicar of the parishes and towns of the upper Rio Negro and Missionary of the rivers Uaupés and Içana/, since Frei José dos Santos Inocentes was forced by illness to go down to Manaus. The activity of Frei Gregorio was great, and in little more than two years he managed to establish relations with 25 tribes (who appear in his list), trying to put them in aldeias, /19/ re-establishing many povoados, and bringing many individuals among them to Christianity. [103] The following towns are mentioned as those for which, in 1854, he asked for a change of name, to wit: on the Uaupés: Querari, Macaquinha, Micura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Coração de Jesus), Carurú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Fidelis martir), Mutum (aldeia of S. Cruz), Aracapuri (aldeia of S. João Batista), Jutica, Pacú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Sebastião), aldeia of Cubeo (aldeia of N. Senhora das Dores), Umarí, Iauareté (aldeia of S. Ana), Jabutí-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Paulo Apóstolo), Juquira (aldeia of S. Domingos), Naná-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Antônio de Lisboa), S. Jerônimo (aldeia of Conceição de N. Senhora), S. Joaquim, Trovão, Pitúna-rapecuma, Inuitera, Cunurí, Coró-Coró, Iura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Francisco das Chagas), Taracuá (S. Francisco das Chagas), Ambaíua, Ivitera-rapecuma. On the Tiquié: Tucano (or S. Isabel), Uíra-poço (or Nazaré), Maracajá (or S. José), Turí-igarapé (or S. Pedro). On the Papurí: S. Luzia dos Tucanos, S. Gregório Magno dos Pirá-tapuya. (Archivo do Amazonas, Year I, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 34, and Year II, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 7.)

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175 797 With alternating periods of assistance, the Capuchins proceeded to attend to the inhabitants of the upper Rio Negro and Uaupés until 1888, when they withdrew and the Mission vanished. Since that time the civilized and the natives of the Rio Negro have had periodic visits from /20/ ecclesiastics, few of whom went beyond S. Gabriel, and some did not reach there.

In 1914 the Mission of the Rio Negro and Uaupés was entrusted by the Holy See to the Salesiana Congregação de S. João Bosco, and a new and more promising phase for those tribes began. Fourteen of them located along the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié and Papurí are assisted materially, sanitarily, and spiritually. The Indians are attracted to the banks of these rivers and settled in small povoados.

For better civilizing assimilation, in accordance with Christian principles, besides the hospitals, maternity clinics, ambulatories, and churches, there are 13 schools (six male and seven female) operating (1958), which, in the regime of a boarding school, educate and instruct about 1500 children of both sexes in the language of the homeland, sciences, and arts. The contrast between the life of the former students of the Mission in their povoados and that of those who live in the malocas where the action of the Missionary has not reached is the best proof of the civilizing attainments of the Salesian Missions.

## 2. The First Relatórios

175 In the eighteenth century three Relatórios /Accounts/ with references to tribes of the Rio Negro and Uaupés appeared:

1st. "Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará até as últimas colonias dos dominios portuguezes em os Rios Amazonas e Negro. Ilustrado com algumas notícias que podem interessar a curiosidade dos navegantes e dar mais claro conhecimento das duas capitanias do Pará e de S. José do Rio Negro /Logbook of the voyage from the city of Pará up to the last colonies of the

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• 175 Portuguese dominions on the Amazon and Negro Rivers. Illustrated with some notes that might interest the curiosity of the navigators and give clearer knowledge of the two capitanias of Pará and S. José do Rio Negro/," by the Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Dr. José Monteiro de Noronha ("Colleção de notícias para a História e Geographia das nações ultramarinas que vivem nos Dominios Portuguezes ou lhe são visinhas /Collection of notes for the History and Geography of the ultramarine nations that live in the Portuguese Dominions or are their neighbors/"; published by the Academia Real das Sciencias -- Vol. VI. Lisbon, 1856).

2nd. "Diário da viagem que em visita e correição das povoações da Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro fez o Ouvidor e Intendente Geral da mesma Francisco Xavier Ribeiro da Sampaio, no anno 1774 e 1775 /Diary of the voyage that, for a visit and the administration of justice in the town of the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro, the Auditor and Intendant-general of the same, Francisco Xavier Ribeiro da Sampaio, made in the years 1774 and 1775/" ("Lisbon -- in the printing office of the Academia, 1825 -- With permission of H. Majesty").

3rd. "Diário da Viagem Philosophica pela Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro com a informação do Estado, presente pelo Dr. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, naturalista empregada na expedição philosophica do Estado /Dairy of the Philosophical Voyage through the Capitania of S. José do Rio Negro with the information of the State, presented by Dr. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, naturalist employed on the philosophical expedition of the State/," in 1775-6 (Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 48, Rio de Janeiro, 1885, pp. 147 ff.).

/21/ Ouvidor /Auditor/ Sampaio, like the preceding Ouvidores, only reached as far as the town of Thomar; he gives data on the Rio Negro and Uaupés, however, through information received from the author of the "Roteiro," whom he cites.

/21 cont./

• 175 Alexandre R. Ferreira went up the entire Rio Negro and on the Uaupés penetrated as far as Ipanoré. Thus, besides the pieces of information obtained from the "Diario" of Ouvidor Sampaio, he could add the ones that he obtained personally. Few, let it be said for the sake of the truth, that would be of interest to ethnography.

The "Descripção Chorographica do Estado do Gram-Pará que, por ordem alphabetica, descreveu João Vasco Manuel de Braum, Governador da Praça de Macapá no anno de 1789 /Chorographic Description of the State of Gram-Pará, which, in alphabetical order, João Vasco Manuel de Braum, Governor of the Praça de Macapá, described in the year of 1789/" dates from 1789. But, besides only repeating the data of Pe. Noronha, and even in the same order, concerning the Uaupés River, there appears only the "town of S. Joaquim do Coané, with 200 persons of the Uaupés and Coeuana nations" (Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Brasileiro, Vol. 36, 1873, p. 289).

Some more interesting information, although already known, is given by the "Noticias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/" of Cônego /Canon/ Fernandes de Souza. They date from the nineteenth century, but in 1793 he was already Vigário /Vicar/ in São Gabriel. (Cf. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Brasileiro, Vol. 10, Rio de Janeiro, 1876.)

Since the middle of the last century we have had more abundant notes that deal especially with the Uaupés, starting with the work Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro, by Alfred Russel Wallace, from the ethnographic point of view; and for the localization of the tribes, the Relatórios of the Capuchin Frei Gregorio de Bene, appointed Missionary of the Uaupés River from 1852 to 1854.

/310/

d) Plumage and adornment.

301 302 535 562

The native ornaments are many; the most striking ones are for the men (59),

> 59. This assemblage of ornaments (earrings, bracelets, necklaces, combs), the long hair in a braid, carefully combed, the depilation of the beard and the mustache, gave the Indian, according to Wallace's testimony, an appearance so effeminate, especially in the dance, when they even protected the chest with the shield of cipo and the lower part of the body with the long waxsó-ro of hanging tururí, that the English scientist thought he was in front of a woman. Wallace's opinion is that the legend of the Amazons or women warriors arose from this mistake (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 630).

but their use on the latter is exclusively for the dances (60),

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> 60. In the Roéra and Ihwãna tribes, even outside of the dances, we have seen the men, especially the young ones, with paintings on the face, bracelets on the arms, and earrings made up of a plug of colored or white feathers.

at least nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

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The ancient travelers speak (61)

> 61. Pe. Cristovão de Acuña, referring to the journey of Pedro Teixeira in 1639, concerning the nation of the Curizaris, which started 28 leagues below the mouth of the river Juruá,

4: Silva--454 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/footnote 61 cont./ says: "The Portuguese called the first aldeia of this nation, coming down the river, "aldeia de ouro" /aldeia of gold/, because in it they found and bought some, which, in small sheets, the Indians wear hanging from their noses and ears and which was examined in Quito and found to be of 21 carats" ("Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," trans. of C. Melo Leitão, p. 236). According to these first explorers, such plates were obtained by beating "this gold, all in bits and grains of good size," which they extracted from a mountain range watered by the river Iquiarí.

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of gold and silver ornaments. There are no such metals in these regions, and they do not know how to work them. From their relations with other tribes of Colombia (62)

62. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha, in his "Roteiro" /Logbook/, states that the Taryana obtained such sheets from the Colombian Panẽnõá Indians (see above, p. 47). -- Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of the Governador of the Rio Negro, João Pereira Caldas, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador as follows (cf. Artur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, 1st ed., Manaos, 1940, p. 82): "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn as earrings by certain Indians of the Uaupés River;

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/footnote 62 cont./ it is something about which I could not discover the least news, although I did question many and different Nations with whom I talked, inhabitants of the same River. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing more than a chimeric illusion originating from there being seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, the Wings of which, after having dried, appear to be a metallic kind because of their thickness and shine.

[135] "Finally I think that this News of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is as Fabulous as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, taken or /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ brought from the Tiquié River in 1749, when melted, appeared to be of silver; when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already planning to present them as such."

and Venezuela they might have been /311/ obtained in barter. At the present time one only finds some women with triangular sheets of beaten silver, of varied size, strung on a cord, and used as a
*[192] necklace around the neck. They are called, due to their appearance, mo'mõ-rõ khwíri, that is, pieces of butterfly.

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/footnote 2 cont./ book Zwei Iahre. Still today (1957) the Missionaries find Indians scattered through various malocas who claim to have been baptized "by white," that is, by civilized who passed by the region trading.

with their cult, which would impress /317/ the savage, and with their talks or even with their positive catechizing, wishing to bring him to Christianism.

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Tribes of the Amazon and Rio Negro (cf. II - 1) (and those of the Uaupés maintained relations with those of the Rio Negro and Içana) were even evangelized by Missionaries in different times. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits and the Mercedarians were on the Rio Negro, in the eighteenth the Carmelites, in the nineteenth the Capuchins and Secular Priests.

The Christian converts were at times a minority within the group which would continue with their beliefs and practices. Perhaps in some cases an entire group, for example, a native povoado, became Christian, but later lost contact with the Missionaries -- and we saw that the catechizing on the Rio Negro and Uaupés was periodic and intermittent -- and returned to their pagan rituals.

Would there not have remained some trace of these learned teachings and religious practices? There are indications that affirm this, from which it is permissible to infer: what the Indians practice today and declared to us may not be exempt from the influence of the Christian civilized.

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Another difficulty no smaller than the first one is the reserve of the native, always suspicious, and he appears much more so on these subjects, about which there may even be an obligation to reveal nothing to the civilized. It has been verified that they more easily make disclosures about subjects of morality, which, it seems to us, should remain hidden, than about religious

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/Footnote 5 cont./ If he conceives it as personal potency, or better "spiritual Being," whom he respects and propitiates by the cult, we then have a religious cult and a Religion. Now it seems to us that we have found indications, even though vague, of a cult and a Religion in the tribes of the Uaupés.

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Taken in the first meaning, it is affirmed that the Indians of the Uaupés do not have religion, since neither temples in which to worship God (6)

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6. This absence has been noted since the time of the discoveries. It is true that Frei Gaspar de Carvajal ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 51), describing the voyage of discovery of Francisco Orrelana /sic/ in 1540, speaks to us of the cult of the sun, with temple and altar: "On this day (Monday after the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 5, 1540) we moored at an aldeia of medium size, where the people were waiting for us. There was a very large plaza there, and in the middle of the plaza a large plank in a square of ten feet, painted and sculptured in relief, representing a walled city, with its enclosure and a door. On this door there were two very high towers with their windows, the towers with the doors facing each other, each door with two columns. This entire work was supported on top of two very ferocious lions, which were looking back, as though wary of each other, and supported it on the forelegs and on the claws. In the middle of this plaza there was a hole where they put down, as offerings to the sun, the chicha, which is the

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[CONTINUED ON PAGE 477 ]

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/footnote 6 cont./ wine that they drink, the sun being what they worship and have as their god.

"This whole edifice was a thing worth seeing, the captain and all of us admiring such a remarkable thing. The Captain asked an Indian what it was and what that plaza meant, and the Indian answered that /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ they were subjects and tributaries of the Amazonas /Amazons/ and that they provided them only with feathers of parrots and guacamaios (araras) in order to cover the ceilings of their adoratories. That the povoaçõe they had were in that style, keeping it there as a remembrance and they worshiped it as an emblem of their mistress, who is the one who governs the entire land of the said women. There was also found in this plaza a very small house, inside of which there were many vestments of plumes of different colors, which the Indians wore to celebrate their feasts and to dance, whenever they wanted to rejoice in front of the plank already referred to, and there they offered their sacrifices for their wicked purposes.

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"We soon left this aldeia, then finding another, very large, which had the same plank and division."

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This among the tribes of the mouth of the river Nepo. And about the region of the Amazonas he tells us of "Adoratories and houses dedicated to the sun, which they call caranaí, and that these houses are floored on the ground and up higher, and that the ceilings are covered with paintings of different colors, that in these houses they have

4: Silva--477 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/321 cont./

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[532]

/footnote 6 cont./ idols of gold and silver in the form of women, and many objects of gold and silver for the service of the sun" (o.c. 67).

Carvajal, however, is relating what he heard and his narration is all impregnated with unbelievable things, fruit of credulity and of suggestion.

Pe. Alonso de Rojas, describing the descent of the year 1637, testifies: "They do not have rites or ceremonies to venerate them (their false gods), neither temples of their idols nor priests" (Descobrimentos, /Discoveries/, 110). Precisely as we found them three centuries later.

346 nor persons in charge of the cult, neither priests nor religious ceremonies and prayers to honor the deity, are found among them.

771 /322/ There are, indeed, many superstitions, and it could not be otherwise among men of so little culture. There is unanimity in asserting that, if there is a cult, it is that of the

776 Juruparí or demon (7)

7. In his "Diálogos das grandezas do Brazil /Dialogues on the greatnesses of Brazil/," Teixeira Pinto, dealing with the rites of the heathen, asserts: "If they do have any and if they practice some manner of worship, although this is not known, it is the devil to whom they give the name of Jurupari" (ap. Barbosa Rodrigues, Poranduba Amazonense /Amazonian History/, 94). Juruparí and dabacuri are terms from the Lingua Geral or Nheengatú, which is still spoken on all the

4: Silva--702 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/461 cont./

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[595] Nevertheless he does not acquire from his position exemption from work or the right to demand tribute or payment in kind or in work from the other components (cf. Note 102 below /see p. 710/) or to have more wives (95).

95. We have already noted the polygamy of other times (VIII-1, a (6)). Still more recently there have been cited cases (information by Pe. João Marchesi) in which, besides their wife, they kept as a concubine some woman who had become widowed. As well as taking a second wife, because "his wife was sick, and he wanted to have children." There is also recalled the case of one, with a healthy wife and two daughters, who took another wife, impelled by the desire to have a male child, "so that his family will not decay with him." As a matter of fact, after the birth of a male child, he sent back its mother. We could not find out whether this attitude was spontaneous or not.

The power of the Wyógõ depends not so much on custom as on his personal influence, and this can come to him from several qualities: oratorical resources, prudence, technical skill, intelligence, knowledge of several languages (Portuguese, Nheengatú, etc.).

[178] Formerly they were invested with greater power (96).

• [175]
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96. It seems that the same can be said of a more distant past. The reports of the eighteenth century (Pe. Noronha, Ribeiro Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira) show them as principals moving large groups, founding new places at the invitation of the civilized, organizing among themselves defensive and offensive alliances. Hence the interest of the Governadores in having them as allies, granting them the title

4: Silva--703 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/footnote 96 cont./ of Capitão. Caboquena, Ajuricaba, Camanaus, Comandre, Carunamá, Cabacabari, etc. became famous. During the first years, as well as in the middle of the last century, the Governador, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ as well as the Diretores Gerais dos Indios /General Directors of the Indians/, proceeded with the official appointment of several Principals on the river Uaupés itself, and they took advantage of their authority over the Indians. We found, for example, in the "Archivo do Amazonas," Vol. 1, n. 2, p. 29, the Diretores Gerais dos Indios do Gram-Pará, Brigadeiro Honorário /Honorary Brigadier/ João Henrique de Mattos and the Tenente Coronel Graduado /Graduate Lieutenant-Colonel/ Albino dos Santos Pereira, as well as the Encarregado dos Indios do Rio Uaupés /Agent for the Indians of the Uaupés River/ Capitão Francisco Gonçalves Pinheiro, appointing Tuxauas on the Uaupés River:

1848 -- 1. Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira, from the Wanana tribe.
2. Domingos Dias dos Santos, Tukano, Principal of Carurú-rapecuma.
3. João de Mattos (son of the late Excellent Tuxaua Raymundo José), Tukano, Principal of S. Joaquim.
4. Calisto Antonio, Taryana, Principal of Iauareté.

1850 -- 5. Manuel Calisto, Wa[illegible]na, son of the late Tuxaua Alexandre, Principal of Carurú-cachoeira.

District of Marabitanas:

6. The Indian Mathias Antonio, Principal of S. Francisco.
7. The Indian João Bernardo, Principal of Tucurimachi.
8. The Indian Angelo José, principal of Cuyiari.

4: Silva--704 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

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The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

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97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

/469 cont./
619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Manao, explains to us that on the river Urubaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

622 /470/ There has never been a true authority, but only the
797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

/471 cont./

614 the division of the original group (107).

121

107. It is possible that other reasons might have intervened, such as the misunderstandings that are still verified today.

While the first-born son, with his family, would remain beside the old couple, the other sons of the founder would become, in turn, founders of new malocas, which would grow with the natural fecundity of the native woman. This hypothesis, more in agreement with the nature of things, is confirmed, it seems, by the customs.

614 601 1st. -- A first one is the denomination of "brother" for all the individuals of the same nation (that is, who are recognized as from such-and-such a tribe and speak the same language), a denomination corresponding, besides, to their feelings (they can not marry each other, mutual aid and understanding, lamentation for a death, and vengeance for the brother who has been a victim of another tribe).

All of them are brothers, but there is a distinction between Mamí (bigger brother) and Axkabí (smaller brother). Among the brothers-german, that is, /472/ children of the same father, the terms mamí and axkabí correspond to the ages. Outside of this case, they no longer correspond. For example, one hears an adult characterize a child as mami. It is, therefore, a matter of a hierarchic classification.

614 554 [115] * [192] [601] An I'ra-pé Tukano said that he regarded the Waú-ro and Oyê as Mamí; in relation to the Waú-ro we heard the expression "Tukano of the head," Dexséá ná dõxpoá," as equivalent to the principal branch, as was soon explained to us by Patrícia Vasconcelos. We have here, then, indications of an aristocracy (108).

• [175] 108. The existence of this aristocracy was already known in 1755 by Pe. Noronha. Xavier de Sampaio

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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back to Arawakan, so that the young people were still Tucanoan speakers while their elders were already back to Arawakan (1909, I, 116). Where Arawakan and Tucanoan coexist, Koch-Grünberg has observed, Arawakan becomes the language of ritual and Tucanoan the everyday language (1909, II, 182).

In general the region of the Vaupés, the only part of the Northwest Amazon that I can speak of from personal knowledge, exhibits a high degree of cultural cosmopolitanism. Many Indians are multilingual because of the frequency of intermarriage with other linguistic groups and the love of the Indians for travel and intertribal trade. Not only do the Indians have some knowledge of the standard languages in the region, but they also employ the *lingoa geral*, a lingua franca based on Tupian, and many are conversant with Spanish and Portuguese. As they adopt languages the Indians also adopt new customs; these are always welcomed, almost in the same way in which women eagerly acquire from one another new varieties of manioc, or in the way in which men and women collect and try to cultivate almost anything that grows. This, in short, is not a region of cultural conservatism. Having freshly arrived from an ethnographic survey in the Colombian Andes, I was literally overwhelmed by the contrast between the secretiveness and wariness of the highland Indians and the openness and friendliness of the Cubeo.

Of course, the question of cultural relations between Tucanoans and Arawakans is one of great complexity and uncertainty. We have only the most general knowledge of these relations; but even this provides a very useful background for understanding the nature of Indian-white relations and of Cubeo acculturation. The essential point in this background would seem to be what I have called the Indian's cosmopolitanism. I speak now only for the Indians of the Cuduiarí. There, it has seemingly provided a strong measure of immunity against the potentially overwhelming effects of European contacts.

The Northwest Amazon has been subject to persistent white influence from the sixteenth century onward.[2] As early as 1557 Francisco Perez de Quesada founded the community of Mocoa on the Caquetá River. The Dominicans entered the region in 1550, the Franciscans some 20 years later. Prior to their expulsion in 1767 the Jesuits founded many missions on the Orinoco, on the Meta, on the Casanare, on the Guaviare, and on the Vichada. On the Vaupés proper the first mission was founded in 1852 at Carurú by P. Gregorio, a Carmelite.

[2] For historical background consult: Archivo do Amazonas, 1906; Bauer, 1919; Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 153 ff., for missions on the Vaupés; Gumilla, 1791; Koch-Grünberg, 1909; Martius, 1867, I, 591 ff.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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He succeeded in bringing together a village of some 300 Indians. By 1881 the mission was disbanded and the Indians returned to their original communities. At about the same time the mission of Santa Cruz dos Cobeus was established at Mitú *cachoeira* near the Cuduiarí. Missionary activity in the region has been generally discontinuous but nonetheless energetic; and while Christian doctrine has left only a vague imprint in native religious practices it has succeeded in acquainting the Indians with new ideas of dress and in disturbing their convictions about some practices such as cannibalism. For a period between 1875 and the early 1900's there was a flurry of nativist agitation in the Vaupés. Between 1875 and 1878 an Indian from the Isana River, called Anizetto, reportedly a hermaphrodite, led a messianic movement against the whites until he was arrested by the Brazilian authorities. In 1880 a shaman who called himself Vicente Cristo led another messianic movement along the middle Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg observed that the native messianic leaders were always Arawakan-speaking (1809, I, 39). There is nothing to suggest that any of these movements ever took strong hold on the Indians. On the Cuduiarí tangible evidences either of Christian influence or of native messianism were slight in 1940.

European commercial penetration started slowly but reached a sudden expansion with the rubber boom that subsided shortly before World War I. The Putumayo, where thousands of Indians perished in the rubber camps, was a notorious and baleful focus of white influence (Hardenburg, 1912). From then on the Indians and the whites along the Vaupés were in constant contact and in frequent conflict. On the lower Vaupés in Brazilian territory many Indian tribes had taken on the outward appearance of the mestizo, or caboclo as he is called in Brazil, as early as 1852, when Wallace was there. The upper Vaupés in Colombian territory retained its true Indian character for very much longer. The Cuduiarí was still very strongly native at the time of my field work in 1939–40.

Only close study will reveal how far acculturation has gone even among those Indians most closely associated with the whites on the main streams. There the Indians wear the dress of the mestizo, live in European-style shacks, and celebrate the Christian holidays. They also carry out native ceremonials, not, to be sure, with the traditional elegance, but strongly enough to suggest that a good deal of native life goes on beneath the shabby surface of ragged clothing, poor housing, and the litter of cheap manufactured utensils and ornaments.

The resistance of the Indians of the Cuduiarí to cultural loss and breakdown may be attributed in the main to relative isolation, but

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19



the nebula in his sword. Sirius stood out a pale electric blue and later we could see the Morning Star in the east.

The river was wide and very shallow, and we got into difficulties: 'José went to sleep on the engine and we hit a rock in midstream – a horrible grinding noise as it passed under the boat, then a crash as it hit the engine. She is letting a lot of water in, though it does not seem to have damaged her seriously. We are lucky; if this had been an aluminium boat she would have ripped from end to end.'

Two days below the falls we reached our dump again and reloading our equipment set off downstream, waving goodbye to Uriel who set off for his *maloca* on the Querarí; only José now remained. *El Diablo* was fully loaded again, she began leaking badly and Horacio made running repairs as we moved down the river. Soon a wind got up, the water became very choppy and we found ourselves baling continuously as the water slopped over her two or three inches of freeboard. She was not going to last very much longer.

All along the banks the forest presented a solid wall. There were seldom any breaks where there might have been a habitation. A clan of the Tukano, the Letuama, had lived here before the advance of the rubber barons early in the century. A few still remained and we visited one of their houses. The *maloca* was shaped like a pagoda, quite unlike anything we had seen before, round at the base with a steeply slanting thatched roof, terminating in a ridge about thirty feet above the hard earth-baked floor. Inside, every sheaf of each section of thatch seemed to have been measured and the whole had an appearance of amazing symmetry. The light came in through two roof apertures and inside, though cool, it was nearly as bright as outdoors. This was surprising as the darkness of the Amazonian house is a deterrent to flying insects. In strange contrast to the house were the old aluminium pots and tin trunks lying inside – a sharp reminder that we had left the Piraparaná. The headman and his family had deserted the house and it was now used by the occasional passing Indian as a resting-place.

We met two *caucheros* who had their houses on the river bank. One of them, Alirio, was half-Indian by birth. His father had been a European-educated official of the Colombian government, who in his later years had preferred the life of the forest. Alirio had known no other life; he had married an Indian girl and now spent his days collecting wild rubber, selling it to another *cauchero* further down the river. He was talkative and eager to help; he told us of a botanist – Dr Schultes – whom he had accompanied beyond the first rapids on the Piraparaná. When he knew we had come all the way from the Vaupés he seemed almost disbelieving. He told us on no account should we continue all the way to the Caquetá on this river, for there were many rapids; moreover, nearer the mouth of the river there were falls, one nearly as big as Jirijimo. Our only way was by a portage which led through the forest to another river, the Miritiparaná. From there it was possible, he